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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: WHORM: Subject File

Archivist: ggc

File Folder: SP 1150 (501964 [1 of 9])

Date: 1/28/97

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo	from Colin Powell to Tom Griscom re Presidential Address at Brandenburg Gate	6/1/87	P5
2. speech draft	Brandenburg Gate, 6/12/87, 6:30pm, p. 3 (1p, partial)	5/29/87	P5
3. speech draft	item #2, p. 5-9 (5pp., partial)	5/29/87	P5
4. speech draft	item #2 p. 10 (1p., partial)	5/29/87	P5
5. speech draft	Brandenburg Gate, 6/12/87, 6:00pm, p. 1 (1p, partial)	6/1/87	P5
6. speech draft	item #5 p. 4 (1p, partial)	6/1/87	P5
7. speech draft	item #5 p. 7 (1p, partial)	6/1/87	P5
8. speech draft	item #5 p. 10 (1p, partial)	6/1/87	P5

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

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add to file —

3933

EO 50196455
SP1150

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 06/01/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE

(06/01 6:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MASENG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARLUCCI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

FWE, PWR, FCC, CLP, GSG, WRP, MB, JDH, USE/S
TC, SMG,

SIGNED

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3933 Add-on II

June 1, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR TOM GRISCOM

FROM: COLIN L. POWELL
SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate (Revised)

We (and the State Department) continue to have serious problems with this speech. Our proposed changes are attached.

Important substantive fixes we have proposed earlier in the sections on arms control (pp. 6-7) and the Berlin initiative (pp. 8-9) still need to be made.

We still believe that some important thematic passages (e.g., pp. 6-7) are wrong. For example, we do not make arms control or other proposals (pp. 6, 9) to show our "goodwill." It is against our interest to legitimize the idea that western goodwill is the missing ingredient or that our goodwill is tested by our arms control proposals. A better theme is to show the President's sensitivity to European anxieties about war and division and to stress that the real source of tension is the denial of freedom.

In addition, we continue to be uneasy at the negative undertone of the section near the end that questions why Berliners stay in Berlin.

Attachment

Tab A Draft Presidential Address

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506



3933 Add-on II

June 1, 1987

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL

FROM: PETER W. RODMAN *PWR*

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate (Revised)

At Tab I is a memo from you to Tom Griscom with further recommended changes.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to Tom Griscom at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I Memo to Tom Griscom

(Robinson/ARD)

June 1, 1987

6:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE
WEST BERLIN, GERMANY
FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1987

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the City Hall. Since then, two other Presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. Today I myself make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American Presidents, because it is our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we are drawn here by other things as well: By the feeling of history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own Nation. By the sense of energy in your streets. By the beauty of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten. Most of all, by your courage and friendship.

Perhaps the composer Paul Lincke understood something about American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do:

"Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin." ["I still have a suitcase in Berlin" -- words from a much-loved song.]

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and heard as well in the East -- that Berlin television can be seen as far to the southeast as Leipzig, as far to the northeast as Gdansk; that Berlin radio can be picked up as far due east as Moscow.

To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, I extend my warmest greetings and the goodwill of the American people. To those listening in East Berlin, a special word. Although I cannot be with you, I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you as I join your fellow countrymen in the West in this firm, this unalterable belief: Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

Behind me stands a wall that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic south it cuts across Germany in one continuous gash of concrete, barbed wire, guard towers, dog runs, and gun emplacements. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same -- still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state.

Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the newsphoto and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, any man is a German, separated from his fellow men. Any man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President von Weizsaecker has said: The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed. Today I say: As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind.

Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope -- even, in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. In announcing the Marshall Plan, Secretary of State George Marshall stated precisely 40 years ago this week: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the Western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan at work. For the building of a Free World."

"[T]he building of a Free World" -- in the West, that building took place. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium -- virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth. The European community was founded.

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftswunder." Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come

about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin more than doubled.

Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany; busy office blocks; fine homes and apartments; proud avenues and the spreading lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters and museums. Where there was want, today there is abundance -- food, clothing, automobiles; the wonderful goods of the Ku'damm; even home computers.

From devastation -- from utter ruin -- you Berliners have in freedom rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But, my friends, there was one thing the Soviets didn't count on: Berliner herz [Berlin heart]. Berliner humor [Berlin humor]. Ja, und Berliner schnauze [a favorite slang term meaning courage mixed with toughness -- an applause line].

In the 1960's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure. Technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the most basic kind -- too little food. The Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. East Germany has made strides, but at

harvest time the news announcers still speak, to use the well-known phrase, of "the battle to bring in the crops."

After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion. Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds between the nations with comity and peace.

Freiheit -- Freiheit ist der Sieger. [Freedom is the victor.]

Now the Soviets themselves may in a limited way be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West and to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness. For we believe freedom and security go together -- that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace.

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace -- if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe -- if you seek liberalization: Come here, to this gate.

Herr Gorbachev, machen Sie dieses Tor auf. [Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.]

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall. [This line in English for the American audience.]

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent -- and I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet we seek peace. So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: hundreds of new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution -- namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the Alliance in turn prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city -- and the Soviets actually walked away from the table.

But through it all, the Alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came back to the table. Because we remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for the complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces. At the talks in Geneva, we have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces. And the Western Allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war, and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our Allies, the United States is pursuing a Strategic Defense Initiative -- research that bases deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will protect lives not by targeting populations but by shielding them.

By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the world. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed. We are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty. Perhaps when President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. Despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And today freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines; in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the

industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.

Today thus represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness -- to break down the barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world. And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meetingplace of East and West, to make a start.

Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of 1971. Let us use this occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era -- to seek a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us maintain and develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, which is permitted by the 1971 Agreement.

And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that should come with life in one of the great cities of the world.

To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding ways of

making commercial air service to Berlin through the established corridors more convenient, more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe.

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to sponsor international meetings in Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations meetings, or world conferences on human rights and arms control or other issues that call for international cooperation.

There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I am certain, will do the same. And it is my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

One final proposal -- one close to my heart. Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city -- than to offer in some future year to hold the Olympic Games here in Berlin, East and West?

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have rebuilt a great city. You have done so in spite of threats: The

Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark. The blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall.

What keeps you here?

Certainly there is a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. But I believe that there is something deeper. Something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Not mere sentiment -- no one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead that sees the difficulties of life in Berlin but chooses to accept them. That stubbornly refuses to abandon this good and proud city to a surrounding presence that is merely brutish. Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love -- love both profound and abiding.

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world does not produce low living standards and backwardness because of some technical shortcoming in its economic arrangements. It produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship.

The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love an affront. During the War, the sculpture atop the Brandenburg Gate was taken down for safekeeping and stored here, in the Western sectors of the city. In 19__, the West turned the sculpture over

to the East in a gesture of goodwill, and soon the sculpture was once again looking out upon "Unter den Linden" [the main avenue in East Berlin]. But something was different. The cross -- the cross the figure had borne aloft for nearly 150 years -- that cross was gone. In its place was a Communist wreath.

__ years later, authorities in the East erected what is now the tallest structure in the city, the television tower above Alexanderplatz. I understand that virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they view as the tower's one major flaw, treating the glass dome at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the sun strikes that dome -- that dome that towers over all Berlin -- the light makes the sign of the cross.

As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag -- that embodiment of German unity -- I noticed words crudely spray-painted upon the wall -- perhaps by a young Berliner -- words that answer the German question. "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality."

Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot withstand faith. It cannot withstand truth.

Die Mauer kann Freiheit nicht zuruckhalten. [The wall cannot withstand freedom.]

Thank you. God bless you all.

NSC/S

1

Original not Returned

Please keep w/
PKey.

34

ON

Paul Thompson

Frank Carlucci

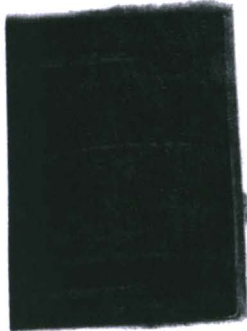
Grant Green

NSC Secretariat

NSC Secretariat

Situation Room

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I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Baker Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

**National Security Council
The White House**

System # _____

Package # 3933

DOCLOG _____ A/O _____

87 JUN 2
A 7:52

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>T</u>
Marybel Batjer	_____	_____	_____
Grant Green	_____	_____	_____
Colin Powell	_____	_____	_____
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
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I = Information	A = Action	R = Retain	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
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cc: VP Baker Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

(Robinson)
May 29, 1987
6:30 p.m.

NSC
changes
6/1/87

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE
~~WEST~~ BERLIN, GERMANY
FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1987

President von Weizsacker,

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and

gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the City Hall. Since then, two other Presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. Today I myself make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American Presidents, because it is our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we are drawn here by other things as well: By the feeling of history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own Nation. By the sense of energy in your streets. By the beauty of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten. Most of all, by your courage and friendship.

Perhaps the composer Paul Lincke understood something about American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do:

"Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin." ["I still have a suitcase in Berlin" -- words from a much-loved song.]

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and heard as well in the East -- that Berlin television can be seen as far to the southeast as Leipzig, as far to the northeast as Gdansk; that Berlin radio can be picked up as far due east as Moscow.

Some
mention
of
Berlin's
750th
anniversary?

Are we
sure of
this?

To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, I extend my warmest greetings and the goodwill of the American people. To those listening in East Berlin, a special word. (Although I cannot be with you,) I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you as I join your fellow countrymen in the West in this firm ^{insistence:} ~~this unalterable belief~~ Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

Not
"belief" but
insistence
Geography
is
wrong.

Behind me stands a wall that divides ^{this city. To the west, there is another wall that divides} the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic south it cuts across Germany in one continuous gash of concrete, barbed wire, guard towers, dog runs, and gun emplacements. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain ^{a heavily border} armed ~~guards~~ and checkpoints all the same -- ^{which} ~~still a restriction on~~ the right to travel, ^{AND} ~~still an instrument to~~ impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state.

Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the newsphoto and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, any man is a German, separated from his fellow men. Any man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President von Weizsaecker has said: The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed. Today I say: As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind.

Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope -- even, in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. In announcing the Marshall Plan, Secretary of State George Marshall stated precisely 40 years ago this week: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the Western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan at work. For the building of a Free World."

"[T]he building of a Free World" -- in the West, that building took place. ~~Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium~~ } Virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth. ~~The European Community was founded.~~

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftswunder." Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come

Could trim.
(Still not a good idea to list only a few)

Not just leaders but individuals (per democracy theme)

about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin more than doubled.

Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany; busy office blocks; fine homes and apartments; proud avenues and the spreading [lawns of] parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters and museums. Where there was want, today there is abundance [- food, clothing, automobiles; the wonderful goods of the Ku'damm; even home computers]

From devastation -- from utter ruin -- you Berliners have in freedom rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. [But, my friends, there was one thing the Soviets didn't count on: Berliner schnauze. Ja, Berliner schnauze -- und Berliner herz. ["Berliner schnauze" is a well-known phrase meaning courage mixed with good humor, "chutzpah." "Und mit herz" means "and with heart."]]

Cut

(In the 1960's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure. Technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the most basic kind -- too little food. The Soviet Union still

cannot feed itself. East Germany has made strides, but at harvest time the news announcers still speak, to use the well-known phrase, of "the battle to bring in the crops."

After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: ~~Freedom leads to prosperity.~~ Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds ~~between~~ ^{among} the nations with comity, ~~and~~ ^{and} peace, and well-being.

Don't lead with material prosperity.

Freiheit -- Freiheit ist der Sieger. [Freedom is the victor.]

Don't give them too much credit

Now the Soviets themselves may at last, ^{in their own way,} be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of ^{reform and} openness, ~~to use the Russian term,~~ "glasnost." Some political prisoners have been released. ^{Some} ~~Certain~~ foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater ^{autonomy.} ~~Freedom from state control.~~

This is not glasnost but perestroika

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended ^{to} raise false hopes in the West, ^{or} ~~and~~ to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome ^{real} change and ^{real} openness. For we believe freedom and security go together -- that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace.

Should be "or." (Two different things)

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace -- if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe -- if you seek liberalization: Come here, to this gate.

Herr Gorbachev, machen Sie dieses Tor auf. [Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.]

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

And I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. ^{From p. 7}
~~while we watch and wait~~ We in the West must resist Soviet

This transition para. is wrong. Should not legitimize idea that our goodwill is the missing ingredient or that it's tested by arms control.

expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet ~~it is our nature as free peoples to make manifest our goodwill~~ ^{we seek peace, and} So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Soviet INF were there before. Need to clarify what was new (more deadly SS-20). Similarly, for policy reasons it is essential to limit the "elimination" point to INF, not other nukes

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: ~~the deployment of~~ ^{new and more deadly} hundreds of nuclear missiles ^{-- the triple-warhead SS-20 --} capable of striking every capital in Europe.

The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution -- namely, the elimination of ~~these~~ ^{such} weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the Alliance in turn prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city -- and the Soviets actually walked away from the table.

Can do better

But through it all, the Alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained ~~strong~~ ^{firm}, the Soviets came back to the table. Because we remained strong, today we ~~are~~ ^{have} ~~engaged in talks that hold out~~ ^{within reach} the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

Putting this here is missing the point: This covers both arms control + freedom issues

To p. 6

(Only if you have previously specified INF)

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent.

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for the complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces [that I mentioned] At the talks in Geneva, we have also proposed deep cuts in strategic forces. And the Western Allies have [likewise] made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war, and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

Essential for accuracy: Only if R&D proves it feasible

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our Allies, the United States is pursuing a Strategic Defense Initiative -- research that seeks to base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will protect human lives instead of targeting [populations but by shielding] them.

Wrong point: Denial of freedom is the real source of tension. (Also, Berlin was not under siege in 1963 -- except in sense in which it's still under siege now)

By these means we seek to make Europe -- and the world -- safer. ~~Yes, our defenses are crucial but only the means to~~ But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other. ~~Perhaps when President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer.~~ ~~as a shining example of that freedom.~~ ~~secure in its liberty~~ Despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands And today freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines; in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking

place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

[In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union^{itself} faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.]

Could drop

~~(In this respect)~~ ^{Thus,} today ^{is} ~~represents~~ a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness -- to break down the barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world. And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meetingplace of East and West, to make a start.

Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of 1971. ~~Yet today we look forward as well to new achievements, new initiatives to~~

Need to call attention to fact he is about to announce a new initiative!

~~to seek~~ ^{Let us use this occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era --} building a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us ~~strive to~~ ^{maintain and} develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, ^{which is permitted by the 1971 Agreement. And I invite} ~~within~~

~~Mr. Gorbachev:~~ ^{Eastern and Western} ~~Berlin itself~~ let us work to bring the ~~two~~ parts of the city closer together, ~~and yes, let us challenge the Soviets to join~~

("Maintain + develop" are key code words from 1971 accord)

~~us~~ so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that ^{should come} ~~go~~ with life in one of the great cities of the world.

(Not two parts but four)

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to sponsor international meetings in Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of ^{United Nations meetings, or} world

This is part of our initiative

Why limit it to human rights + arms control??
Or East-West issues?

conferences on human rights, ~~and~~ arms control, ~~areas that call~~ ^{or other issues or areas} ~~of international~~ cooperation ~~between East and West~~ # There is no better way to

establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East.

Our French and British friends, I am certain, will do the same.

~~And~~ It is my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

Centerpiece of the initiative is air access, not sports.

And finally, to open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city. ~~finding~~ ^{let us find} ways of making commercial air service to Berlin through the established corridors ~~safer~~ ^{more convenient,} more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe.

~~One final proposal -- one close to my heart~~ Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what ~~better way to show goodwill toward the East -- what~~ better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city -- than to offer in some future year to hold the Olympic Games here in Berlin, East and West?

No! Our goodwill is not the issue.

INSERT

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have rebuilt a great city. You have done so in spite of threats: The Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark. The blockade. Today

June 1, 1987

Insert p. 9

Let's not just talk about change, Mr. Gorbachev. Let's make it a reality right here in Berlin.

Twenty-six years after the building of the Wall, it's time for that Wall to come down.

Twelve years after the Helsinki accords, it's time to remove all the barriers to the free movement of people, information, and ideas across the continent of Europe.

Forty-two years after the end of the War, it's time to stop treating Germans -- or any other peoples of Central Europe -- like prisoners in their own land.

So, Mr. Gorbachev, let us address the real sources of tension in Europe. Arms reduction is important to all of us, but the weapons are the symptom of the security problem in Europe, not its cause. The real issue is the denial of peoples' right to choose their own government -- the artificial, unnecessary, unnatural, and inhuman division of Europe, imposed and maintained by the Soviet Union.

* * *

SEE
INSERT

the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall.

What keeps you here?

[What persuades you to stay when you could so easily depart?]

Certainly there is a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. [But I believe that there is something deeper. Something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Not mere sentiment -- no one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. [Something instead that sees the difficulties of life in Berlin but chooses to accept them. That stubbornly refuses to abandon this good and proud city to a surrounding presence that is merely brutish.] Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love -- love both profound and abiding.]

It's the most subsidized city in W. Eur!
And no draft!

This is all rather negative in its implications

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world does not produce low living standards and backwardness because of some technical shortcoming in its economic arrangements. It produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship.

The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love an affront. During the War, the sculpture atop the Brandenburg Gate was taken down for safekeeping and stored here, in the Western sectors of the city. In 19__, the West turned the sculpture over

Alternative ending attached: a more positive theme

June 1, 1987

Insert p. 10

This city through these past forty years has become unique. It has seen the French, the British, the Americans and the Germans working together as nowhere else. It has seen the image of a European and Atlantic community emerge that can be a vision for the West's future. This is an international city unlike any other place on earth, that demonstrates what determination and partnership can build.

Berliners have also helped shape a bridge between the West and their neighbors to the East. This bridge brings milk and meat and coal to West Berlin. It sends television pictures and tourists and modern know-how to the East. The bridge needs enlarging and expanding and what better place to carry this work out for the entire Western world than here in Berlin.

to the East in a gesture of goodwill, and soon the sculpture was once again looking out upon "Unter den Linden" [the main avenue in East Berlin]. But something was different. The cross -- the cross the figure had borne aloft for nearly 150 years -- that cross was gone. In its place was a Communist wreath.

__ years later, authorities in the East erected what is now the tallest structure in the city, the television tower above Alexanderplatz. I understand that virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they view as the tower's one major flaw, treating the glass dome at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the sun strikes that dome -- that dome that towers over all Berlin -- the light makes the sign of the cross.

As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag -- that embodiment of German unity -- I noticed words crudely spray-painted upon the wall -- perhaps by a young Berliner -- words that answer the German question. "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality."

Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot withstand faith. It cannot withstand truth.

Die Mauer kann Freiheit nicht zuruckhalten. [The wall cannot withstand freedom.]

Thank you. God bless you all.

Are
you
sure?

Please
check

True?

WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

'87 JUN 2 10:52

54: 30

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MESSAGE NO. 2226 CLASSIFICATION Unclassified PAGES 11

FROM GRANT S. GREEN, JR. *for JK* 456-2224 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
(NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Brandenburg Gate

LOG: 3933

<u>TO (AGENCY)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO:</u>	<u>DEPT/ROOM NO.</u>	<u>EXTENSION</u>
<u>State</u>	<u>Melvyn Levitsky</u>	<u>Exec Sec</u>	<u> </u>
<u>DUC</u>	<u>James F. Lemon</u>	<u>Exec Sec</u>	<u> </u>
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MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Brandenburg Gate
LOG: 3933

<u>TO (AGENCY)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO:</u>	<u>DEPT/ROOM NO.</u>	<u>EXTENSION</u>
<u>State</u>	<u>Melvyn Levitsky</u>	<u>Exec Sec</u>	<u> </u>
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REMARKS Sent fyi

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P 11:17
SEQUENCE TO

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	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	1	P	A
Marybel Batjer			
Grant Green	2	G	
Colin Powell	3		A
Paul Thompson			
Frank Carlucci			
Grant Green			
NSC Secretariat	4		N
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Baker Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

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ID 8703933

RECEIVED 21 MAY 87 15

TO CARLUCCI FROM DAWSON, R
RODMAN
GREEN

DOCDATE 21 MAY 87
22 MAY 87
22 MAY 87

KEYWORDS: BERLIN SPEECHES
WH REFERRAL

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRES ADDRESS RE BRANDENBURG GATE 12 JUN

ACTION: MEMO GREEN TO DOLAN / DAWSON DUE: 02 JUN 87 STATUS C FILES WH

FOR ACTION
RODMAN

FOR CONCURRENCE
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FOR INFO
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TO CARLUCCI FROM DAWSON, R
RODMAN
GREEN

DOCDATE 21 MAY 87
22 MAY 87
22 MAY 87

KEYWORDS: BERLIN SPEECHES
WH REFERRAL

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRES ADDRESS RE BRANDENBURG GATE 12 JUN

ACTION: MEMO GREEN TO DOLAN / DAWSON DUE: 02 JUN 87 STATUS C FILES WH

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ID 8704266

RECEIVED 04 JUN 87 14

TO DAWSON, R

FROM GREEN

DOCDATE 04 JUN 87

KEYWORDS: GERMANY F R

SPEECHES

SUBJECT: PRES ADDRESS BRANDENBURG GATE SPEECH ON 12 JUN

ACTION: PEARSON SGD MEMO

DUE:

STATUS C

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FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COMMENTS

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1.

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

TOM GRISCOM

10 rologio

GRANT GREEN FOR FRANK CARLUCCI

1.

2.

3.

TOP: 040235Z

4.

JUN 87

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1.

2.

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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS

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DAYCOM ASAP

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3 JUN 87

Tom Criscom,

Here's THE RESULT
OF OUR MEETING
yesterday. Please call
me and let me
EXPLAIN THE RATIONALE
PAGE BY PAGE BEFORE
YOU ACT ON THE
SUGGESTIONS.

Colin

(Robinson/ARD)
June 8, 1987
11:00 a.m. (Italy)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE
WEST BERLIN, GERMANY
FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1987

87 JUN 15 AM 11:54

[Check on attendance of Pres. von Weiszaecker at event.]

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the City Hall. Since then, two other Presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. Today I myself make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American Presidents, because it is our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we are drawn here by other things as well: By the feeling of history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own Nation. By the beauty of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten. Most of all, by your courage and determination.

Perhaps the composer Paul Lincke understood something about American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do:

"Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin." ["I still have a suitcase in Berlin" -- words from a much-loved song.]

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and heard as well in the East.

To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, I extend my warmest greetings and the goodwill of the American people. To

those listening in East Berlin, a special word. Although I cannot be with you, I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you as I join your fellow countrymen in the West in this firm, this unalterable belief: Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

Behind me stands a wall that encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic south, those barriers cut across Germany in one continuous gash of barbed wire, concrete, dog runs, and guard towers. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same -- still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state.

Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the newsphoto and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, every man is a German, separated from his fellow men. Every man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President von Weizsaecker has said: The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed. Today I say: As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind.

Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope -- even, in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help; and in 1947, Secretary of State George Marshall announced the creation of what would become known as the Marshall Plan. Speaking precisely 40 years ago this week, he said: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the Western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan is helping here. To strengthen the Free World."

A strong, free world -- in the West, that dream became real. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium -- virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth. The European community was founded.

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftswunder." Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come

about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin more than doubled.

Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany; busy office blocks; fine homes and apartments; proud avenues and the spreading lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters and museums. Where there was want, today there is abundance -- food, clothing, automobiles; the wonderful goods of the Ku'damm, ~~even home computers.~~

From devastation -- from utter ruin -- you Berliners have in freedom rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But, my friends, there were a few things the Soviets didn't count on: Berliner Herz [Berlin heart]. Berliner Humor [Berlin humor]. Ja, und Berliner schnauze [a favorite slang term meaning courage mixed with toughness -- an applause line].

In the 1950's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure. Technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the most basic kind -- too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself.

After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion. Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds among the nations with comity and peace.

~~Freiheit Freiheit ist der Sieger.~~ Freedom is the victor.

Now the Soviets themselves may in a limited way be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness. For we believe freedom and security go together -- that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace.

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace -- if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe -- if you seek liberalization: Come here, to this gate.

~~Herr Gorbachev, machen Sie dieses Tor auf.~~ Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent -- and I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet we seek peace. So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: hundreds of new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution -- namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the Alliance in turn prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city -- and the Soviets actually walked away from the table.

But through it all, the Alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came back to the table. Because we remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for the complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces. At the talks in Geneva, we

have proposed deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons. And the Western Allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war, and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our Allies, the United States is pursuing a Strategic Defense Initiative -- research that bases deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will protect lives not by targeting populations but by shielding them.

By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the world. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed. We are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty. When President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, freedom was encircled, Berlin was under siege. Today, despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines; in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.

Today thus represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness -- to break down the barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world. And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meetingplace of East and West, to make a start.

Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of 1971. Let us use this occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era -- to seek a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us maintain and develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, which is permitted by the 1971 Agreement.

And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that should come with life in one of the great cities of the world.

To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding ways of making commercial air service to Berlin through the established corridors more convenient, more comfortable, and more economical.

We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe.

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to help bring international meetings to Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations meetings, or world conferences on human rights and arms control or other issues that call for international cooperation.

There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I am certain, will do the same. And it is my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

One final proposal -- one close to my heart. Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city -- than to offer in some future year to hold the Olympic Games here in Berlin, East and West?

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have rebuilt a great city. You have done so in spite of threats: The Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark. The blockade. Today

the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall.

What keeps you here?

Certainly there is a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. But I believe that there is something deeper. Something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Not mere sentiment -- no one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead that has seen the difficulties of life in Berlin but chose to accept them. That continues to build this good and proud city in contrast to a surrounding totalitarian presence that refuses to release human energies or aspirations. Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love -- love both profound and abiding.

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship.

The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love and of worship an affront. In East Berlin, few of the many churches destroyed during the War have been rebuilt. Then, years ago, Eastern authorities erected a secular structure to dominate the city -- the television tower at Alexanderplatz. Virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they

view as the tower's one major flaw, treating the glass sphere at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the sun strikes that sphere -- that sphere that towers over all Berlin -- the light makes the sign of the cross. There in Berlin, like the city itself, symbols of love, symbols of worship, cannot be suppressed.

As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag -- that embodiment of German unity -- I noticed words crudely spray-painted upon the wall -- perhaps by a young Berliner -- words that answer the German question. "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality."

Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot withstand faith. It cannot withstand truth.

~~Die Mauer kann Freiheit nicht zuruckhalten.~~ The wall cannot withstand freedom.

Thank you. God bless you all.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE
~~(WEST) BERLIN, GERMANY~~
FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1987

X

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President von Weizaecker

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and

gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the City Hall. Since then, two other Presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. Today I myself make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American Presidents, because it is our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we are drawn here by other things as well: By the feeling of history in this city, ~~more than 500 years older than our own~~ ^{By your courage and determination. And by our} ~~own~~ ^{Commitment to bringing Europeans -- all Europeans --} ~~together in freedom.~~ ^{together in freedom.} ~~of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten. Most of all, by your~~ ~~courage and friendship.~~

~~Perhaps the composer Paul Lincke understood something about American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do.~~

~~["Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin." ["I still have a suitcase in Berlin" - words from a much-loved song.]]~~

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and heard as well in the East, ~~that Berlin television can be seen, as far to the southeast as Leipzig, as far to the northeast as Gdansk, that Berlin radio can be picked up as far due east as Moscow.~~

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To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, I extend my warmest greetings and the goodwill of the American people. To those listening in East Berlin, a special word. Although I cannot be with you, I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you as I join your

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fellow countrymen in the West in this firm ~~conviction~~ ^{conviction:} ~~and unalterable~~ ^{belief}

X

belief: Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

^{this city. To the West there is another wall}

that
divides
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Behind me stands a wall that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic south it cuts across Germany in one continuous gash of concrete, barbed wire, guard towers, dog runs, and gun emplacements. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same -- still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state.

^{the world sees}

Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall ~~emerges~~ most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the newsphoto and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a

^{mankind.}

continent upon the mind of ~~the world~~ Standing before the

^{every}

Brandenburg Gate, ~~any~~ man is a German, separated from his fellow men. ~~Any~~ man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President von Weizsaecker has said: The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed. Today I say: As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind.

Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope -- even, in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. In announcing the Marshall Plan, Secretary of State George Marshall stated precisely 40 years ago this week: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the Western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan at work. For the building of a Free World."

"[T]he building of a Free World" -- in the West, that building took place. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium -- virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth. The European Community was founded. X

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftswunder." Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come

about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin more than doubled.

Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany; busy office blocks; fine homes and apartments; proud avenues and the spreading lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters and museums. Where there was want, today there is abundance of food,

~~clothing, automobiles, the wonderful goods of the Ku'damm, even some computers.~~

frontizing
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Herzkeisler

From devastation -- from utter ruin -- you Berliners have in freedom rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But,

~~my friends, there was one thing the Soviets didn't count on -- Berliner herz [Berlin heart]. Berliner humor [Berlin humor]. Ja, und Berliner schnauze [a favorite slang term meaning courage] mixed with toughness -- an applause line.]~~

We
still
don't
like this.
Too
crude.

In the 1960's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure. Technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the most basic kind -- too little food. The Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. East Germany has made strides, but at

harvest time the news announcers still speak, to use the well-known phrase, of "the battle to bring in the crops."

After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion. Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds ^{among} ~~between~~ the nations with comity and peace.

~~Freiheit Freiheit ist der Sieger.~~ Freedom is the victor.

Now the Soviets themselves may in a limited way be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West ^{or} ~~and~~ to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness. For we believe freedom and security go together -- that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace.

There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace.

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, ~~if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe~~ if you seek liberalization: Come here, to this gate.

~~Herr Gorbachev, machen Sie dieses Tor auf.~~ Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.

Yet the West has had decades, even centuries, of experience with those who have ruled in Moscow. Our experience has taught us how uncertain are the prospects of true liberalization. Where the human aspirations for freedom and for security come together, as here in Berlin, we have the right and the duty to ask large and concrete actions of Moscow.

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Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall. ~~(This line in English~~

~~for the American audience.)~~

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent -- and I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet we seek peace. So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: hundreds of new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution -- namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the Alliance in turn prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city -- and the Soviets actually walked away from the table.

But through it all, the Alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came back to the table. Because we remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

In those strategic offensive weapons, like Soviet ICBMs, whose reduction will strengthen strategic stability.

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for the complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces. At the talks in Geneva, we have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces. And the Western Allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war, and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

could strengthen his own position)

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They are of a new and more subtle kind and they require both some old and some new responses. Our troops are still in Berlin, and they will remain here as long as they are wanted by Berliners and needed to demonstrate to the other side that force cannot succeed. But we also need some new initiatives, some new wave of dealing with the problems that persist.

industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

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~~In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.~~

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Substitute a more positive ending - attached.

SUBSTITUTE ENDING, BEGINNING AT BOTTOM OF PAGE 9:

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have rebuilt a great city. You have done so despite your physical separation from West Germany and the challenges implicit in the very presence of this Wall behind me. What is the secret of this success, and what message does it carry with it for the future?

I have already mentioned the special fortitude and courage of Berliners. But I believe there is something deeper, something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Something both profound and abiding that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom.

I hope, as well, there may be something special in the American presence in this city. We came as soldiers and we have become friends. We came as administrators and we have become partners. We have been involved, along with you and with our French and British colleagues, in building this city -- seeing to its security and freedom, and supporting its cultural and educational institutions. Together we have seen a unique kind of international city emerge. Can Berlin serve as a model for the kind of Europe we want to see, or the kind of Atlantic community we have dreamed of since the end of the War? I think the answer is yes.

So I see a bright future for this city -- as a meeting place for East and West; as a living example of what freedom can accomplish; as a model for what Europe can become in a new era. That is my dream.

~~Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark. The blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall.]~~

~~[What keeps you here?]~~

~~[Certainly there is a great deal to be said for your fertility, for your defiant courage. But I believe that there is something deeper. Something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Not mere sentiment -- no one could, live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead that sees the difficulties of life in Berlin but chooses to accept them. That stubbornly refuses to abandon this good and proud city to a surrounding presence that is merely brutish.] Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love -- love both profound and abiding.]~~

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~~[The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love an affront. During the War, the sculpture atop the Brandenburg Gate was taken down for safekeeping and stored here, in the Western sectors of the city. In 19__, the West turned the sculpture over~~

~~to the East in a gesture of goodwill, and seen the sculpture was once again looking out upon "Unter den Linden" [the main avenue in East Berlin]. But something was different. The cross -- the cross the figure had borne aloft for nearly 150 years -- that cross was gone. In its place was a Communist wreath.]~~

~~[] years later, authorities in the East erected what is now the tallest structure in the city, the television tower above Alexanderplatz. I understand that virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they view as the tower's one major flaw, treating the glass dome at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the sun strikes that dome -- that dome that towers over all Berlin -- the light makes the sign of the cross.]~~

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Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot withstand faith. It cannot withstand truth.

~~[Die Mauer kann Freiheit nicht zurückhalten.]~~ The wall cannot withstand freedom.

Thank you. God bless you all.

[SP1150(3), page 12]